1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-5). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

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474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to